

	classical authors	LB texts
Artaxerxes I	Kῦρος	^m ār-šū,
Darius II	^Ω χρος/Ochus	^m ū-ma-kuš,
Artaxerxes II	^Α ρσης/ ^Α ρσάκας/ ^Α ρσίνας	^m ār-šū,
Artaxerxes III	^Ω χρος/Ochus	^m ū-ma-kuš,
Arses	—	—,
Darius III	Codomannus	^m ār-ta-šā-ta.

4.1. So I am of the opinion that the problem of the original 'private' name of king Artaxerxes II can now be answered with plain definiteness. In the former article by Schmitt 1977, p. 423 it had been proposed to read instead of ^Ωχρος in Dinon *apud* Plutarchus (cfr. § 2.3 above) rather [δ] ^Αρσης and to regard this form as the most original one out of the triad ^Αρσης/^Αρσάκας (in Ctesias-Photius) / ^Αρσίνας (in Ctesias-Plutarchus), which names may be understood as the reflexes of a short or one-stem name OP *^Ršā (stem *^Ršan-) "man, hero" and of hypocoristic names with the suffixes *-ka- or *-ika-. In favour of the originality of the shorter form not marked with a hypocoristic suffix (whose evidence is divergent in any case) it had been stated at that time, that it is just this same name OP *^Ršā / Greek ^Αρσης which later has been given to the grandson of Artaxerxes II, the subsequent king Arses (338/7–336/5 B.C.) and that this identity of the grandson's and grandfather's names may be connected with the appropriate Indo-European and Iranian custom, which was common to the Achaemenid family, too⁴⁰. Those former thoughts now seemingly have been confirmed in the best way by the Babylonian evidence, since the form ^mār-šū according to the rules valid for Late Babylonian, or more exactly: for the final short vowels of Late Babylonian forms renders an original */Arš/, which is reflecting OP *^Ršā as exactly as Late Babylonian ^Hi-ši-ar-šū (or sim.) is a reflex of OP ^Xšaya-^ršā (alias Xerxes) "reigning over heroes". But that will probably mean also, I think, that Dinon – if such a minor remark on Plutarchus' study and valuation of sources may be allowed (cfr. § 2.3 above) – is more reliable (in this respect at least) than Ctesias, who after all should have known it right.

4.2. By the evidence now available the institutions of the throne-names and of the μετονομασία of the kings at the accession to the throne may be guaranteed for the period from Artaxerxes I to Darius III and for

⁴⁰ The sequence of Darius II – Artaxerxes II – Artaxerxes III – Arses (whether or not being Artaxerxes IV??), if transformed to the private names, turns out as Ochus – Arses – Ochus – Arses!

the throne-names OP ^Rta-xšaçā (alias Artaxerxes) "whose reign (or: rule) is from (or: through) ^Rta, the Truth" and ^Dāraya-^{vauš} (alias Darius) "holding firm (or: retaining) the good", which names unmistakably express a religious-political program or motto. For the student, who has become aware of all the Artaxerxeses and the last two Dariuses as bearing such throne-names and who knows the personal names of all these kings, it seems to be obvious to postulate the same in the case of Darius I, too, because of his name, even if his birth-name or personal name regrettably is not attested⁴¹. It is obvious, too, that this means at the same time, that that custom of changing the name must go back at least to this king and that also the name of ^Xšaya-^ršā (alias Xerxes) has to be considered a throne-name. So what matters is to ask whether or not there are perhaps still other arguments which point in the same direction. Now, in my view this in fact takes place, since the program expressed in the name of ^Dāraya-^{vauš} is in full agreement with other testimonies of the same kind such as Darius' final point in Herodotus' famous debate on the best constitution (cfr. Schmitt 1977a), which certainly is not fully non-Iranian⁴², and a passage of his Bisutūn inscription (col. I, ll. 25–26) emphasizing that it has been his endeavour "to hold together that kingdom (*scil.*: of Cyrus)". Add to this that there is an apparent break in the tradition of naming between the elder line of the Achaemenids on the one hand and Darius I and his successors on the other, for if one realizes moreover that the names of Darius' predecessors ^Kuruš/Cyrus and ^Kambūjiya (or sim.) / Cambyses have not been elucidated clearly so far and in any case are not so evidently 'speaking names' as those of Darius, Xerxes, and Artaxerxes, the conclusion seems absolutely necessary, that it has been just Darius I⁴³, who established these customs of changing the name and taking a throne-name, but neither Artaxerxes I, for whom we have the oldest attestations and to whom Hinz 1979, p. 203 imputes the motives of perhaps having felt too great an obligation in taking the name of Cyrus⁴⁴ or having preferred a good Zoroastrian name, nor Darius II, as is inferred by Calmeyer 1976, p. 88 from the illegitimate character of this king's inheritance, which might have motivated him to stress the proximity to the dynasty by changing his

⁴¹ For that matter the most various and most vague conjectures have been suggested (cfr., e.g., Nyberg 1938, p. 346; Herzfeld 1947, pp. 93–97; Frye 1963, p. 92; Schmitt 1977, p. 424), while it would be fair to confess that there is no conclusive material at hand and that we quite simply cannot know that original name of Darius.

⁴² See most recently Gschnitzer 1977.

⁴³ Hinz 1979, p. 203, however, considered that idea unlikely, 'although his name looks like a program'.

⁴⁴ But cfr. now the contradictory evidence discussed in § 3.1 above.